

YOUNG INDIA

Published Every Wednesday.

Edited by M. K. Gandhi.

NEW SERIES
VOL. III. No. 78

AMSTERDAM, WEDNESDAY, JULY 15, 1931

PRICE TWO ANNAS
FOR COPY.

Notes.

Swami Govindanand—Sw. Govindanand has got five years' transportation. He has a tough back. He has undergone previous incarceration without trial. He has put on record his experiences of the tortures he had to put up with in the various gaols in which he was placed. He has now gone through the farce of a trial and has been duly convicted. Does the transportation on that account carry any weight, or does it not rather show the hypocrisy of the whole transaction? The form is changed, the spirit remains the same. What is wanted is a change of the spirit. 'Handsome is that handsome does.' I have read the full text of the Swami's speech. It contains some bitter and offensive language but nothing out of the ordinary. Certainly there is no incitement to violence in it. Disaffection there is. But if he deserved prosecution for uttering disaffection, I am as much as Swami Govindanand. I have probably the greatest disaffection for the existing system of Government. For nobody has perhaps the same horror of the system that I have. One would think that disaffection was an established common fact in India and that so long as the speakers did not incite to violence, they were to be free from the attentions of the police. But the worst of this Government is that it has no consistent policy. The late Mr. Chamberlain used to pride himself on reiterating his belief that a British official's word was as good as a bond. We know by painful experience that to-day a British Government's bond is worth no more than waste paper. Happily India was under no delusion when Sir William Vincent pompously pronounced the sentences conveying to the Indian ear the assurance that non-co-operators were to be left undisturbed so long as there was no incitement to violence. The assurance only meant that non-co-operators were to be left undisturbed so long as their propaganda did not result in effective action. Now that we have gone far beyond the stage of mere demonstration, we need not expect freedom from imprisonment or worse. The more the movement tells, the greater must the repression be. Five years' transportation is clearly intended to produce a theatrical effect. Five years in the life of India to-day mean, I do not know, how many ages. If India is as good as her word, she would have acquired the power long before the expiry of the period to discharge all

prisoners unjustly detained, but whether that event is far or near, our duty is clear. We must answer every imprisonment not with anger, as in Malegaon, but with quiet courage and determination. We must prosecute, if we are true to our creed, still more vigorously the concrete constructive programme of the All-India Congress Committee to its full fruition. We must not indulge in empty or provoking demonstrations at each arrest. We must not indulge in bravado. We must seek imprisonment for doing solid work.

Malegaon misbehaviour—I observe that there is a tendency to minimise the guilt of the non-co-operators at Malegaon. No amount of provocation by the Sub-Inspector could possibly justify retaliation by the non-co-operators. I am not examining the case from the legal standpoint. I am concerned only with the non-co-operators. He is bound under his oath not to retaliate even under the gravest provocation. We have the brilliant instance of Sardars Lachmansingh and Dalipsingh and their party. If we are true non-co-operators, we must develop the power of dying as they died. I would have hailed with joy the immolation of Malegaon non-co-operators if they had died bravely and without providing any justification. That would have brought the day of India's freedom nearer. As it was, who gave the first provocation, again, from the non-co-operator's standpoint? Did they or did they not try to overawe the police? These delirious demonstrations when any of us is arrested are, as I have already observed before, an unseemly exhibition of our anxiety to avoid imprisonment. We have chosen a standard of judgment for ourselves and we must abide by it. I retain the opinion that the non-co-operators, so far as the facts hitherto brought to light show, committed a grievous breach of the code of non-violent non-co-operation. I would ask the public who are interested in the Khilafat or Swaraj, religiously to refrain from all demonstrations over the arrest or imprisonment of even their dearest leaders. I would hold it no honour to me for the public to proclaim a hartal or hold meetings if I was arrested or Maulana Shaukat Ali for that matter. I would welcome and expect in any such event a complete immediate boycott of all foreign cloth; a more energetic adoption of the spinning wheel, a more vigorous collection in behalf

of the Tilak Swaraj Fund and a flooding of Congress offices for registration as members. I would certainly expect the emptying of Government schools and colleges and more suspensions of practice by lawyers. Killing officers and burning buildings will not only retard the advent of Swaraj and the righting of the Khilafat and the Punjab wrongs, but are likely to lead to utter demoralisation of the nation. We must therefore scrupulously avoid all occasions which would excite the passions of the mob and lead them into undesirable or criminal conduct.

Carping criticism—Often do young men criticise the conduct of leaders without just cause. The latest instance that has come to my notice is rather striking. A special train was arranged for a visit to Mirpur Khas from Hyderabad during my recent visit to Sindh. This was too much for a correspondent. He thought that the leaders had indulged in a waste of national funds. I had not stopped to inquire the reason why the special was arranged. He advised me to cancel the special and give a day more to Sindh and save the money. If he had inquired into the matter, the friend would have discovered that without the special it was impossible to take me to Mirpur Khas, that I could not have given a day more to Sindh without disturbing the rest of the programme, that it was necessary for me to go to Mirpur Khas and that the expense was comparatively small. Criticism of public men is a welcome sign of public awakening. It keeps workers on the alert. Those who pay have a right to ensure economy. There is undoubtedly an extravagance often noticed about popular demonstrations, much money is spent in tinsel splendour. The expense is often thoughtless. And we are likely to gain by fearless criticism of public expenditure or general conduct of public men. But all such criticism must be well informed and thoughtful. All carping criticism must be avoided.

Whilst on the question of railway travelling, I must remark that there is still noticeable a desire to avoid 3rd class travelling. I am sorry to say that, being no longer physically able to travel 3rd class, I am deprived of the inestimable experiences of third class railway travelling. It affords an opportunity of contact with the national mind which nothing else does. It enables one to render service which cannot be otherwise rendered. I would therefore urge all workers to avoid 2nd class travelling save in rare cases. No one perhaps knows better than I do the discomfort of 3rd class railway travelling. I put it down partly to callous railway management and partly to bad national habits that ignore the convenience of the neighbours. Observant workers travelling 3rd class would efficiently deal with the disregard both of the management and the passengers. There is no doubt that 2nd class travelling is not within the reach of the masses. And national servants may claim no privileges not enjoyed by the latter.

M. K. G.

ARROWS OF FIRE.

(Shama'a, I—3.)

Love your enemies—and you will have none.
To love your enemy is to conquer him.
If you love him who hates you, what more can he do?

Even in your worst enemy recognise the Divine Friend.

Only the strong are strong enough not to resist.

Let the slanderer perish with his slander; do not contradict him.

To the false witness against you, not a word!
.....it might save him.

If God chooses to show so little of himself in each man, why blame the man?

The future alone is the true judge.

The punishment that imitates the crime, justifies it.

'Civilisation'—the privilege of a few peoples estimated by the number of their fire-arms.

'Barbarism'—not to have your fire-arms up to date.

If thou seest God nowhere, it is because He is everywhere.

One idol hides the One God; many idols reveal Him.

A little ignorance makes men bow down to wood and stone, a greater ignorance prevents them from doing it.

To give to God all one loves—that is indeed to love God.

To live in Heaven means to make Heaven live on earth.

Blessed are they who make nothing their own, for they shall possess all things.

Blessed are they who covet nothing, for they will receive all that others covet.

Blessed are the meek, for they alone shall survive when the rest have finished destroying each other.

Blessed are they who, in the cause of Justice, are condemned by a justice.

Blessed are they whom the present persecutes, for they are the children of the future.

When the rich concern themselves with the business of the poor it is called charity.

When the poor concern themselves with the business of the rich it is called anarchy.

Thy surfeit is another's starvation.

To have is to owe.

Thou shalt only be forgiven those possessions which thou hast given.

PAUL RICHARD.

FAMINE INSURANCE FUND.

Subscriptions to the above fund, which will be devoted solely to spinning, may be sent to

*The Manager, Young India,
Olive Road, Ahmedabad.*

All subscriptions, however small, are gratefully received and will be immediately acknowledged.

THE OPIUM POISON.

I.

In the present great movement of the masses of the people of India towards Swaraj, self-purification has become at last the one leading note. There is on every side the enthusiasm of a lofty ideal—the ideal of a purer India. The women of India are now adding their untold moral wealth. Their aid will give to the Movement a purity and a radiant beauty beyond all else besides. We shall see, if we have faith, many age-long evils swept away. In my former article, I wrote about the 'Curse of Drink.' Along with this, there is another curse: the Curse of Opium—in some ways more deadly to the soul of India than intoxicants, because it has its effect chiefly on a neighbouring and a friendly people, the Chinese. It is thus at once more cruel and more selfish than the Curse of Drink.

The justice which is to be wrought out, when India regains her independence, must be in every way a fuller justice than that which now exists, under a foreign rule. Christ himself has given the test of all reformation when he said: "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter the Kingdom of Heaven."

We have seen, in a previous article, how a far 'higher righteousness' is needed with regard to intoxicants than that which is shown in the revenue policy of the present Government. We must no longer dare to make 13 crores of rupees out of the Drink Traffic, when once Swaraj is ours. Whatever we spend in India must be pure, not tainted money.

Let us now consider the Opium traffic, which still brings into the Indian revenue immense profits year by year. It is difficult to obtain the total figures both for external and internal sale, because the opium sold in India itself is going along with intoxicants, in one figure, under the head 'intoxicating liquors and narcotics.' But the revenue from opium which was sold outside India amounted to £ 1,572,218 in 1914-15 to £ 1,913,514 in 1915-16, and to £ 3,160,005 in 1917-18. I have not been able to obtain more recent figures.

The following extract, from a book recently published, gives the story of external Opium Traffic in the past:—

"The sole object of the nefarious opium Monopoly between India and China, prompted by the British Government in India, was to make money.

"It was well known, that opium smoking was a curse in China in every possible way. The opium vice destroyed, by degrees, both body and mind. In whole districts where people were devoted to opium smoking, the adult male population became slowly incapable of any action or exertion, and gradually descended from debauchery to despair and death. That made no difference to English merchants or English capitalists or English politicians. Huge profits could be raised by a comparatively small outlay. Indian finance could be helped by an opium monopoly. So opium was 'good business'...

No Englishman can read the plain account of what was done, without understanding why the foreigners denounce the hypocrisy of his country, which, while claiming a high morality, refuses to allow any consideration of human well-being to interfere with its greed of gain.

"Happily this miserable Opium Trade is now being suppressed."

It is just at this last point that the writer's information fails him. He is taking the assertions of those, whose interest it is to keep up the opium revenue. But unfortunately the facts do not bear out, what we have been so often told in the Press namely, that the 'Opium Traffic is dead.'

Let us test this common press statement in a very simple manner. Miss La Motte, an American lady, with independent financial means at her disposal, made a thorough investigation. She writes as follows:—

On our way out to Japan, in July 1916, we met a young Hindu on the steamer, who was indignant about the policy of the British Government which had established Opium Trade in India, as one of the Government departments. Of all the phases of British rule in India, it was this policy which excited him most, and which caused him most ardently to wish, that India had some form of self-government, so that the country could protect herself from this evil. Without self-government, he said, his country was powerless to put a stop to this traffic, imposed by a foreign government, and he greatly deplored the slow but steady demoralisation of the Indian nation which was taking place. As he produced his facts and figures, showing what this meant to his own people—this gradual undermining of their moral fibre and their economic efficiency—we grew more and more interested. It seemed incredible.....So shocked were we by what this young Hindu told us, that we flatly refused to believe him. We decided not to take his word for it, but to look into the matter ourselves.

"We *did* look into the matter. During a stay in the Far East of nearly a year, we looked into the matter in every country we visited. Whenever possible we obtained government reports and searched them carefully...We found a thorough and complete establishment of the Opium Traffic, run by Government, as a monopoly. Revenue was derived from the sale of opium, through Excise Tax upon opium and through licence fees paid by the keepers of opium shops. A complete systematic arrangement was established by which the foreign government profited at the expense of the subject people under its rule. In European countries and in America, we find the government making every effort to repress the sale of habit-forming drugs. Here, in the Far East, a contrary attitude prevails. The Government makes every effort to encourage and extend the sale...Two notable exceptions presented themselves. Japan protected its people as carefully as any European country. The other exception is the Philippine islands."

(To be continued.)

C. F. ANDREWS.

Young India.

Ahmedabad, Wednesday, 11th May, 1921.

HINDU MUSLIM UNITY.

(By M. K. Gandhi)

That unity is strength is not merely a copy-book maxim but a rule of life, is in no case so clearly illustrated as in the problem of Hindu Muslim Unity. Divided we must fail. Any third power may easily enslave India so long as we Hindus and Mussalmans are ready to cut each other's throats. Hindu Muslim Unity means not unity only between Hindus and Mussalmans but between all those who believe India to be their home, no matter to what faith they belong.

I am fully aware that we have not yet attained that unity to such an extent as to bear any strain. It is a daily growing plant, as yet in delicate infancy, requiring special care and attention. The thing became clear in Nellore when the problem confronted me in a concrete shape. The relations between the two were none too happy. They fought only about two years ago over what appeared to me to be a small matter. It was the eternal question of playing music whilst passing mosques. I hold that we may not dignify every trifle into a matter of deep religious importance. Therefore a Hindu may not insist on playing music whilst passing a mosque. He may not even quote precedents in his own or any other place for the sake of playing music. It is not a matter of vital importance for him to play music whilst passing a mosque. One can easily appreciate the Mussalman sentiment of having solemn silence near a mosque the whole of the twenty four hours. What is a non-essential to a Hindu may be an essential to a Mussalman. And in all non-essential matters a Hindu must yield for the asking. It is criminal folly to quarrel over trivialities. The Unity we desire will last only if we cultivate a yielding and a charitable disposition towards one another. The cow is as dear as life to a Hindu, the Mussalman should therefore voluntarily accommodate his Hindu brother Silence at his prayer is a precious thing for a Mussalman. Every Hindu should voluntarily respect his Mussalman brother's sentiment. This however is a counsel of perfection. There are nasty Hindus as there are nasty Mussalmans who would pick a quarrel for nothing. For these we must provide Panchayats of unimpeachable probity and imperturbability whose decisions must be binding on both parties. Public opinion should be cultivated in favour of the decisions of such panchayats so that no one would question them.

I know that there is much, too much distrust of one another as yet. Many Hindus distrust Mussalmans honesty. They believe that Swaraj means Mussalman Raj, for they argue that without the British, Mussalmans of India will aid Mussalman powers to build up a Mussalman empire in India.

Mussalmans on the other hand fear that the Hindus being in an overwhelming majority will smother them. Such an attitude of mind betokens impotence on either's part. If not their nobility, their desire to live in peace would dictate a policy of mutual trust and mutual forbearance. There is nothing in either religion to keep the two apart. The days of forcible conversion are gone. Save for the cow Hindus can have no ground for quarrel with Mussalmans. The latter are under no religious obligation to slaughter a cow. The fact is we have never before now endeavoured to come together, to adjust our differences and to live as friends bound to one another as children of the same sacred soil. We have both now an opportunity of a lifetime. The Khilafat question will not recur for another hundred years. If the Hindus wish to cultivate eternal friendship with the Mussalmans, they must perish with them in the attempt to vindicate the honour of Islam.

ASHOKA'S TWELFTH EDICT ON THE GIRNAR ROCK.

The beloved of the gods does not value gifts and reverence so much as the advancement of the strength of all the religionists. Advancement of strength has many aspects. But its root lies in keeping watch over one's speech, for it avoids overrating one's own religionists and underrating another's on unimportant occasions; otherwise there may be absence of dignity. On occasions, other religionists ought to be honoured in various ways. Doing this, one promotes one's fellow religionists and benefits other religionists too. But behaving otherwise, one injures one's own religion, and does harm even to other religionists; for one who extols his co-religionists and condemns other religionists, does so out of devotion to his religion in order to glorify his co-religionists. But doing so, one injures one's own religionists the more. A conciliatory course is preferable, in as much as people may hear the law unwittingly and may listen to it.

IS LIFE WORTH LIVING ?

Is life worth living? yes, so long
As there is wrong to right,
Wail of the weak against the strong
Or tyranny to fight:
Long as there lingers gloom to chase
Or streaming tear to dry,
One kindred woe, one sorrowing face
That smiles as we draw nigh;
So long as faith with freedom reigns
And loyal hope survives,
And gracious charity remains
To lighten lowly lives;
While there is one untrodden tract
For intellect or will,
And men are free to think and act
Life is worth living still.

ALFRED AUSTIN.

SPINNING AS FAMINE RELIEF.

Mrs. Jaiji Petit has sent the following notes of an experiment being conducted in spinning among the famine-stricken people at Miri near Ahmednagar. I gladly publish the notes as the experiment is being conducted under the supervision of an Englishwoman. The reader will not fail to observe the methodical manner in which the work is being done. All the difficulties have been met and provided for. Even the very small experiment shows what a potent instrument, the spinning wheel is for famine relief. Properly organised it cannot but yield startling results.—M. E. G.

In the month of August 1920, when the severity of the famine was being felt, the idea of introducing spinning as a famine relief to respectable middle class people was started and Miss Latham kindly gave a spinning wheel to introduce the work. Attempts were made to introduce the work especially among the Dhangars who were used to spinning wool but they proved futile. Spinning a thin thread of cotton was thought an impossibility in a village which did not know anything about it. Doubts were also entertained as to whether the work if taken up would be paying or at least helpful. In such different difficulties and objections, the wheel remained idle for nearly three months, and in spite of vigorous efforts no body seemed willing to take up the work. In December 1920, Miss Latham again sent four more wheels through the kindness of Mrs. J. Petit and some cotton. They were given for trial to different persons. Signs now seemed a little hopeful and at last one Ramoshi woman was prevailed upon to take up the work seriously. This was about the 20th of January 1921, since when the work has assumed a different shape. The example of this woman was copied by two more who undertook to take up the work. Through great perseverance 4 lbs. of yarn were prepared by these three spinners and it was sent for sale. In the meantime many women began to make inquiries and expressed a desire to take it up if it helped them financially in some way. A rate of spinning 6 as. a lb. was therefore fixed and it helped other spinners to join the work.

Here another difficulty viz. that of funds, came in the way. All the five wheels were engaged and five more prepared locally were also engaged. The stock of cotton was also exhausted. It seemed that the work would suffer for want of funds to prepare wheels, purchase cotton, and pay the workers. Rao Bahadur Chitale personally saw this difficulty and helped the work with a grant of Rs. 100. Miss Latham, when she knew of this difficulty, kindly sent another hundred. These two grants came at the right time and gave a stimulus to the work. Local gentlemen helped with their own cotton.

The demand for wheels went on increasing day by day. People being too poor to pay for the wheels, it became necessary to get the wheels prepared locally and lend them to the workers. Twenty seven more wheels were prepared which also gave work to local carpenters who had no work on account of famine. One carpenter improved the wheel by making it more light and useful for finer yarn. The prices of the wheel were paid at Rs. 3, Rs. 3-8, and Rs. 4 per wheel according to the quality. Three of these wheels have been sold for Rs. 9-8 as. The total sum spent on these wheels is

Rs. 103-8-0 which includes the sum for the wheels kindly sent by Mrs. Petit.

Though local cotton was secured for the work, it proved too bad for beginners. A new method therefore was introduced to improve the local cotton, which not only helped the work but also provided work for a few more persons. Raw cotton was secured and the dirt and the dry leaves in it were carefully removed before it was ginned. The rate for this work was fixed at one pie per lb. Any old man who did this work got an opportunity of earning 60 annas a day, by cleaning 4 lbs. of raw cotton. After it was thus cleaned, it was ginned with a hand-gin which gave work to some women who ginned, at the rate of one anna per 10 lbs. One woman could thus earn 2 as. and 6 pies each day. This ginned cotton was then cleaned by a *pinjari* who charged at the rate of one anna per pound and earned about 8 as. per day. It would have been better and easier too, if cotton had been purchased from the mills, but as this cleaning process of the local cotton provided work for a few workers, it was thought the more desirable in these days. A major portion of these cleaning charges is however made up by the sale of cotton seed secured after ginning. The following statement will show the expenses incurred for this and the price of raw cotton for every 60 lbs.

| | Rs. | As. | Pies. |
|--|-----|-----|-------------|
| Price of 60 lbs. of raw cotton @ 20 Rs. a patia (240 lbs.). | ... | ... | 5-0-0 |
| Removal of dirt waste and dry leaves @ 1 pie per pound | ... | ... | 0-15-0 |
| Ginning of 60 lbs. of raw clean cotton @ 1a. per 10 lbs. | ... | ... | 0-5-3 |
| Cleaning the Lint (17 lbs.) by a <i>pinjari</i> @ 1 Anna per lb. | ... | ... | 1-1-0 |
| | | | Total 7-5-3 |
| Deduct price of cotton seed 35 lbs. @ 20 lbs. per Re. | ... | ... | 1-12-0 |

Net charges for 17 lbs. of clean cotton ... 5-9-3

Thus the cost of one pound of cotton comes to 5 as. and 3 pies only. The proportion of waste viz. 8 lbs. in 60 lbs. of raw cotton is too high and could be avoided by securing better and cleaner cotton.

There are at present 29 wheels going and there is still a great demand for wheels. But the funds being limited, more wheels could not be prepared and provided. Spinning is done by those who absolutely know nothing about it previously. Consequently the yarn is still of an inferior sort. It is improving day by day but if a competent teacher could be secured, it would improve rapidly. Amongst the spinners, some are full-time workers and others are leisure-time workers.

About two lbs. of yarn are now prepared every day and the quantity will increase as the spinners get used to the work. The rate for spinning is fixed @ 6 as. a lb., though many workers complain that it is not enough. As the yarn sent for sale realised a price of 12 as. a lb., the spinning charges could not be increased without a loss. Every lb. of yarn requires Annas 11 pies 3 for expenses, as 0-5-3 for cotton & 0-6-0 for spinning. Thus every lb. leaves a profit of 9 pies only. The establishment and other charges are not calculated. With the present rate of spinning @ 6 as. a lb., one spinner earns 3 as. per day by spinning 20 to 24 tolas, more earn 2 as. a day by spinning 15 tolas and the rest 1½ as. a day for 10 tolas, the beginners excluded. The more the spinner is used to the work, the more he will earn.

An attempt was made to prepare cloth out of the yarn and three and a half lbs. of yarn were given to a weaver for weaving. He however charged an exorbitant rate for weaving. He prepared nine and a half yards of cloth and charged Rs. 3-9 for it, practically 1 rupee a lb. The cloth cost Rs 6-0-0 and was sold at Rs. 6-3-0, with a profit of as. 2 pias 6 only. To obviate the difficulty about weaving, a separate loom with one teacher to teach weaving to local persons is urgently required. Many local people wish to learn this art. A separate loom will reduce the cost of the cloth prepared on it below the prevailing market rate. About 6 lbs. of yarn are given to different weavers to ascertain the exact charges, but all this difficulty can only be removed by having a special loom.

When there was a shortage of cotton and the workers had no work, wool was introduced for spinning till cotton was ready. This work was willingly taken up by the Dhargars. They were however required to spin finer thread of wool than they usually prepared. They took some time to pick up the work, and now there are 10 wool spinners working fine thread. They are also paid at 6 as. a lb. for spinning. Wool worth Rs. 31 @ 2 lbs. a rupee was purchased, and though the cotton was ready, the wool spinning was continued by starting a separate department, as the Dhargars readily took up the work. The whole process of cleaning the wool is also done by the Dhargar women, who get an extra anna per lb. for it. The sorting of wool is carefully looked to. The majority of wool spinners use their own spinning wheels but a few are now asking for the improved wheel for preparing finer threads.

Dhargar weavers being locally available, blankets after the Pandharpur and Dawangiri pattern are being prepared from this finer thread and different designs have been suggested to them. The Dhargars being a stubborn race do not readily adopt the new improvement, but this work has set them to work up new designs of blankets which will permanently help them in their own profession. They now require a broader and improved loom and instruction in colouring wool. Efforts are made to secure a clever full-time weaver who will introduce a better method of weaving. Two blankets were prepared and sold at cost price, one for Rs. 5-13-0 and the other for Rs. 6-6-0. Orders are being received for more blankets now, but to continue the work would require some funds.

To keep so many persons working is not only an ideal form of famine relief, but a means to promote village industries, and remove the demoralising effects of successive famines. Thus stands the work of about one month. It now requires an improved handloom, a good teacher, a special loom for wool, more spinning wheels (which the neighbouring villagers are also demanding) & many other things. The work is going on vigorously and it is hoped will not be allowed to suffer for want of funds.

MR. GANDHI'S ELLORE SPEECH.

It was my intention to reproduce some of my Andhra Desha Speeches in "Young India". But that has not been possible. I was most anxious to reproduce my Rajmahendry speech. But I have no notes of it. The industry of a co-worker enables me to give the speech at Ellore which deals somewhat with the special matter of the Rajmahendry speech, and as it is otherwise not a bad effort, I take the liberty of giving it to the readers of Y. I.

M. K. G.

You will please forgive me for not standing up to speak to you. You know that I am physically very weak.

You will please also forgive me that I have not with me this evening Moulana Shoukatali.

We have given to India an object lesson in Hindu-Muslim unity by travelling as full-born brothers throughout the length and breadth of India for one year. He claims to be, and is, one of the staunchest of Muslims and I claim to be a staunch Sanatani Hindu. But we find no difficulty in living and serving together.

But you and I are in a hurry to establish Swaraj or Dharmaraj in India during this very year. You will not expect us any longer to be travelling together.

It has given me the greatest pleasure to be able to unveil the portrait of Lokamanya Tilak. Swaraj to him was the breath of his nostrils. He lived for Swaraj and he died muttering the Swaraj mantra. It is, therefore, but right that you treasure the portrait of that great patriot, and I consider it a privilege and an honour having been called upon to unveil the portrait. I congratulate the local artist on his creation. But you know that the unveiling of portraits of great men and women, and reciting the names of gods and personages carry with them certain duties, if they confer certain privileges. I assume that you have realised your duty in having asked me to perform this sacred ceremony. I shall assume that this unveiling of the portrait of Tilak Maharaj marks your fixed determination to redress the Punjab and Khilafat wrongs and to establish Swaraj. We can only earn the title to be the heirs of the fame of this great patriot if we sacrifice everything for the attainment of Swaraj and succeed in the attempt. I regard it also as a happy augury that I have been called upon to perform the opening ceremony of a club for women in Ellore. It delights my heart to see brave sisters, dressed in Khaddar going about from door to door, and asking for money for the national fund.

It is equally a happy augury that you have asked me to perform the opening ceremony of the national college for which you have collected the handsome sum of Rs. 67,000. And I have much pleasure in declaring open the national college. May God grant that institution a long life and all that the professors and workers may entitle it to. I consider that the profession of the schoolmaster is one of the noblest professions in the world. Schoolmasters are trustees for the future generations. I hope that the schoolmasters of this great institution will remember that only that education is true which fits boys and girls for complete self-expression. Let me in all humility tell the schoolmasters that the only art that boys and girls can learn this year is the fine art of spinning, the art of carding cotton and the art of weaving.

It is on the slender cotton thread that the honour of Islam and India and the redress of the enormity of the Punjab wrong rest. I am absolutely convinced after years of search and experiment (and now that experi-

Sound, sound the clarion, fill the file,

To all the sensual world proclaim,

One crowded hour of glorious life

Is worth an age without a name.

ment has been supplemented by experience; that the introduction of spinning in every home is the solution for the grinding poverty of the masses. We have no right to call ourselves the sons and the daughters of India so long as we remain silent witnesses to the plight of lakhs of our semi-starved countrymen. Our degradation and the grinding poverty of India began with the destruction of the spinning wheel, and it is but small penance for us men, women, boys and girls to spin during all our leisure hours in order to win Swaraj for India. I regard it as a sin, and I would ask every one of you to regard it as a sin to wear a single piece of foreign cloth. I regard as foreign cloth even that which comes from Bombay and Ahmedabad. Our spinning mills must be in our homes, our weaving mills must be in our villages. And just as it will be sinful for you to have your bread baked in Bombay, so is it sinful for you to have your cloth manufactured in Bombay. Let Bombay and Ahmedabad manufacture for the poorest for whom it is not possible to take the gospel of Swadeshi. For you who know better, it must be a crime not to spin your own yarn and get it woven. It has given me the greatest pleasure to find that in this province you are able to spin very fine superior yarn and weave better cloth in your weavers' sheds. I hope also that the professors and trustees of the national college will bear in mind that the Tamils and the Telugus have cut themselves off from India by not learning Hindustani. I feel humiliated to have to speak in English before a vast audience like this which understands not a word of English and I wish you would consider it shameful that not a single one of you can translate my simple broken Hindustani.

But I must now hasten to other matters. I had my full say at Rajmahendry on an important matter and I hope that some Telugu friend will reproduce that speech, translate it, and spread it broadcast among hundreds of our countrymen. It was at about ten o'clock last night in Cocanada that dancing girls paid me a visit when I understood the full significance of what they were. I felt like sinking in the Earth below. I ask you to blot that sin out of us. It is not right that for our lust a single sister should have to live a life of shame and humiliation. In this movement of purification we are in duty bound to regard these girls as our sisters and daughters. Let us who feel the pricks of violence that this insolent government inflicts on us not commit worse violence by ruining the life of a single girl in India. I ask you, brothers and sisters, to send me assurance, as early as possible, that there is not a single dancing girl in this part of the land. I charge these sisters who are sitting behind me to go about from place to place, find out every dancing girl and shame the men into shunning the wrong they are doing.

We call this a movement of purification, we call it a religious movement, we dare to call this Government satanic, we compare it to Ravana's, we think of our future Raj in terms of religion and gladly call the Swaraj to come, Dharma Raj. Let us not deceive ourselves and gods and deserve the curse of God for deceiving them. We may not regard a single being as untouchable. We have become lepers of the Empire by regarding a class of Hindus as lepers. I speak with the authority of experience and I assure you that in Hinduism there is no sanction for treating a single human being as untouchable. In the estimation of a Brahman knowing and living his religion, a Shudra is as good as himself. The Bhagavad-gita has nowhere taught that a Chandala is in any way inferior to a Brahman. A Brahman ceases to be a Brahman, immediately he becomes insolent and considers himself a superior being. India owes a deep debt

to the Brahmins, who voluntarily sacrificed themselves for the betterment of all. It was Brahmins who have called God servant of servants, the purifier of the fallen.

It was Brahmins who taught that the prostitute and the Chandala could attain *moksha* if she or he only purified her or his heart.

But unfortunately for the human race the Brahman shares with mankind the frailties of all. In common with others he has neglected his duty of giving knowledge to mankind, of guiding them in the right and true path. We glibly charge Englishmen with insolence and haughtiness. Let us, before we cast the stone at them, free ourselves from liability to reproach. Let us put our own house in order.

I believe in Varnashrama Dharma. But what we know today by that name is nothing but a travesty of it. Varnashrama Dharma is the truest road to equality, it is a religion not of self-indulgence but of self-sacrifice. It is a religion not of insolence but of humility. Whilst therefore, some of our weaknesses make me shudder and despair, I see many a silver lining to the cloud of despair.

The spiritual character of the movement is one of the most soul-stirring phenomena that India could pass through. I ask you to put a stop to gambling, the use of intoxicating drinks and drugs, and other kindred vices. Believe me that when we have done this there is no power on Earth which can stand in our way.

It is now commonplace for me to draw your attention to Hindu Muslim unity and to non-violence. I hope that these things have become articles of faith for all of us.

For a Hindu to quarrel with a Mohammedan or for a Mohammedan to quarrel with a Hindu is to destroy the prospect of Swaraj. This union between the Hindus and the Mussalmans means the redress of Khilafat wrongs and of the Punjab wrongs.

For us to draw the sword is to perish by it. Let not an angry word slip against our opponents or Englishmen. It is not necessary to criticise Englishmen or our own countrymen who differ from us. For the best and the truest criticism consists in living according to our faith.

Let us concentrate our attention on three things that the Congress Committee has placed before us. You invited the all-India Congress Committee to your capital, you lavished boundless affection on the members, you held a spontaneous demonstration as if it was a religious festival, as if it was a Congress gathering. The demand for men, money, and munitions, as Mr. Das put it, was born at Bezvada. And I hope that you will put your shoulders to the wheel and work ceaselessly so that every one is registered in the Congress Ledger.

Long before the 30th June dawns upon you, I hope that you will have collected your quota, and long before the same date, you will place the spinning wheel in every home of this Andhradesha.

I hope that in three months' time there will be, not a man or woman calling himself or herself the son or daughter of this land, using foreign cloth. Your energy and faith had captivated me even in South Africa. My best fellow prisoners were Tamil and Telugu countrymen. They were the first to come to the field and never left it. But the energy, the devotion, the faith, the simplicity, the industry that you are exhibiting amazes me. Your natural freedom and natural self-restraint have enchanted me. With all such magnificent qualities it will be nothing